Volume 25, No. 2 Autumn Number, 1936

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association

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Communications on general Association matters should be addressed to Miss Anna B. Hewitt, Secretary, Friends' Historical Association, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania; manuscripts submitted for publication, and communications on editorial matters, should be addressed to Thomas K. Brown, Jr., Editor, Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association, 226 Dickinson Ave., Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

Members receive the Bulletin free of charge. (Membership dues, $2.00 per annum; see the notice regarding membership on next page.) Libraries may subscribe to the Bulletin for $1.00 per annum if they order directly through the Secretary's office. Single copies are sold for $1.00.

Dues and subscriptions should be paid to I. Thomas Steere, Treasurer, Friends' Historical Association, 30 Buck Lane, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

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MEMBERSHIP

Any person, whether or not a member of the Society of Friends, who is interested in the purposes of the ASSOCIATION, is eligible for membership. Applications should be sent to the Chairman of the Membership Committee, John W. Cadbury, Jr., Moorestown, New Jersey. Members are especially urged to invite their friends to join, and, in case of their assent, to send their names as nominations to the Membership Committee.

Annual membership dues, $2.00. Life membership, $50.00.

"Perpetual Membership" has been provided for by the following amendment to the Constitution:

Upon receipt of any gift or bequest of one thousand dollars or more, the donor or the person in whose memory the fund is given shall be elected to perpetual membership. The names of such members shall be printed in all lists of membership, and if the person is deceased the name shall be followed by the words, "In Memoriam."

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THE ANNUAL MEETING OF FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION held its annual meeting in the Race Street Meeting House, Fifteenth and Race Streets, Philadelphia, on Second-day evening, Eleventh month 30, 1936, at 8.15 P. M. William W. Comfort, President of the Association, presided; he listed, among the activities of the year, the collection and contribution of $500 toward the bust of William Penn in the Hall of Fame; the placing of a marker on the historic watch box now set up near the east end of the meeting house at Fourth and Arch Streets, Philadelphia; and the holding of two general meetings and the publication of two numbers of the BULLETIN.

The Chairman of the Nominating Committee, Edward Woolman, presented a report, nominating the Directors whose names appear on the opposite page. The persons named were unanimously elected.

The Curator, Lydia Flagg Gummere, reported the gift to the Association of two interesting and valuable items. One was an album, presented by Elizabeth Biddle Conrow, containing photographs of 650 meeting houses which she had collected from all over the world. The other, presented by Horace E. Reed and Anna R. Evans, comprised the records and papers of the Aimwell School, which was laid down in 1935. The school was founded by Anne Parrish in 1796, at the close of a scourge of yellow fever in Philadelphia, for the free instruction of female children; it was held at first in Anne Parrish's home at the corner of Second Street and Pewter Platter Alley. Poor girls who could

not pay for instruction were given this opportunity for training. In 1797 the school with its fifty pupils was moved to a room in the Corporation School House on Fourth Street below Chestnut, and a "constant teacher" was employed to take charge of the sewing. The school finally moved to 869 North Randolph Street. The Aimwell School Association was officially incorporated in 1859, with the motto: "Education is the golden key that unlocks the door to success." The gift includes the records and minutes, the charter, and an interesting picture of some of the scholars in costume taken on the occasion of the 125th anniversary held on Eleventh month 18, 1921.

The address of the evening was given by Professor William I. Hull, on his very interesting experiences while hunting for reminiscences of Quakers in Holland. He told of the kind of accident that befalls the persistent and skilful searcher, whereby he found the daughter of a man who had long been called the "last Dutch Quaker," John Etienne Mollet, from whose family he secured access to illuminating family records going back to about the time of the rise of Quakerism; and of another accident by which he found, where others had failed to find, the minute book of Friesland Monthly Meeting, which had been carried to the old Devonshire House in London by unknown hands, and had lain in a basement awaiting his successful search.

After the annual meeting, the Directors held a brief meeting, at which the officers of the past year were elected for another year of service. The Association then enjoyed a collation, served in one of the upper rooms of the Meeting House.

THE PRESENT number of the BULLETIN contains two articles on Quakerism or Quaker interests in Russia and Germany. The author of the article on Russian Quakers, Wilhelm Hubben, has written a history of the Quaker movement in Germany; the author of the article on the meeting house at Bad Pyrmont is clerk of the German Yearly Meeting. These articles fall appropriately in a time when many of us are thinking of the World Conference of Friends to be held in 1937. It is expected that further articles will be printed in later issues, in an attempt to round out the picture of Quakerism in other parts of the world.

AT THE MEETING of the Directors held Tenth month 15, 1936, the Board adopted the following memorial minutes in regard to the deaths of Walter Brinton and Lucy Branson Roberts, both beloved and valued members of the Association.

WALTER BRINTON

THIS BOARD wishes to preserve among its records an expression of appreciation for the services of our fellow member Walter Brinton, who passed away on Fifth month 7, 1936. Elected in 1918 to the Council of Friends Historical Society, he became a member of the Board of Directors of Friends' Historical Association in 1924 and served continuously until his death, a period of eighteen years. He was endeared to his fellow members by his genial presence, and his uniform kindliness and courtesy. He gave to his duties industry, good judgment, and a keen interest in all historical matters. It was with a sense of deep personal loss that we learned of his passing.

LUCY B. ROBERTS

TO THOSE members of Friends' Historical Society who can recall the early days of that body, there will at once come to mind the name of Lucy B. Roberts, who for years was influential in leading the Society of Friends in Philadelphia to a greater appreciation of historical matters. Lucy Branson Roberts was one of the early members of Friends Historical Society of Philadelphia, and was elected as a Councillor in 1906, becoming President in 1919. It was under her guidance in 1923 that Friends Historical Society of Philadelphia and Friends' Historical Association merged as one organization. She resigned from the Presidency in 1924, but continued as one of the Directors until 1927. She was a member of the Association until her death on Seventh month 22, 1936.

As President of Friends Historical Society, Lucy B. Roberts labored gladly and successfully to cherish among the young, and sympathetically to uphold among their elders, a knowledge and appreciation of the work of the pioneers in the past and its significance for the future. There are few now left to appreciate how hard our late President Roberts worked, and how wisely

she approached the problems that were often more difficult to solve when there was less mutual understanding between the "branches" of Friends than there happily is now. One of the unifying elements in Philadelphia meetings has been the realization, so fully understood at present, that all must cordially work together to understand the early history of our common origin.

We are appreciative of the fact that her work for our society was only one of the many activities, both within and outside of the Society of Friends, in which our late President was earnestly engaged. The cause of Temperance was always near to her heart, and she took a leading part in the early work of the Foreign Missionary Society of Arch Street Yearly Meeting.

We, who today miss her cordial greetings and her wise counsel, feel that to her we owe an inspiration that will help us in overcoming the difficulties of the present and in striving for greater success in the future.

THE WATCH BOX

By Walter F. Price

RECENTLY there has been placed in the yard of Arch Street Meeting, Philadelphia, near the southeast corner of the Meeting House, an interesting historic relic.

When I first saw it, there was a painted sign attached to the door, bearing these words: "Ancient Watch Box, Used in Colonial Philadelphia. Presented to the Friends' Historical Society by Albanus L. Smith." Albanus Smith was a descendant of James Logan, Penn's secretary and friend.

The watch box, like a sentry box, is a small building about four feet six inches in diameter, generally hexagonal in plan, though sometimes square or round. Starting at the base, the walls, of two-inch plank, slant slightly inwards as they rise from the base to the cornice, making a delicate taper, which gives a subtle charm to the design. The roof, now tinned, was probably covered with shingles. This has a pitch of about forty-five degrees, and is surmounted with a hexagonal lantern, the sides of which are glass, with a roof ending in a point of a similar pitch to the main roof. The alternate sides are pierced with cir-

cular holes, about five feet six inches from the floor. These are six inches across and are filled with plain glass, making peep holes for the watchman. The whole building, as it stands, rises to a height of twelve feet six inches above the ground. This includes a new brick base, twenty inches high, which will prevent further decay. For in measuring the box, to make a scale drawing, I found the door, which has its original hinges, was only five feet two inches high. Moreover, as you examine it, you will find that several planks forming the walls have been sawed off diagonally and that a new board twelve inches wide has been put around the box, to replace wood that has rotted away. The "Committee of Six" have thoroughly painted the building as well as repaired it and have placed it on the grounds, so that it can be seen from the north and from the west. They have also run a wire to the lantern controlled by a switch, so that the light can be turned on at will.

During last Yearly Meeting at Arch Street, a new sign was made and attached to the watch box at the expense of the Friends' Historical Association, worded as follows—"WATCH BOX of Old Philadelphia at 8th and Walnut Streets until 1852. Then Preserved by John Jay Smith in his Germantown Garden—Presented by Albanus L. Smith in 1909." This was worded by Albert Cook Myers, who showed me three books touching the police and night watchmen of old Philadelphia on the shelves of the Pennsylvania Historical Society. Before referring to these, permit me to say that recently a member of Arch Street Meeting told me he came in 1880 from a distant village in Pennsylvania to live in Philadelphia, and he then noticed on the Arch Street Meeting grounds a watch box of the same design as the subject of this account. It stood not far from the northeast angle of the main house, and was used at Yearly Meetings by the men to check up the people entering the east gate on Arch Street, just as many of us remember how on the same occasions, three or four women sat on a bench under a shed near the west gate for the same purpose. Moreover, I know another member whose grandmother remembered several watch boxes existing in her lifetime.

For the first eighteen years following the founding of Philadelphia it managed to do without police or night watchmen. It is

true there was a beadle who had to care for the whole town, while in London an officer with similar duties was a parish or ward official. However, the scandalous behavior of some young men gave great concern to the sober-minded citizens—one recalls the episode in which young Penn took an unsavory part.

In 1704 the Common Council ordered the city to be divided into ten precincts and an equal number of night watchmen be assigned to each constable therein. These watchmen, regardless of station in life, had to take their turn at the watch, or furnish a substitute. This was again following the custom in London, where the same kind of service was exacted from all householders. At first nothing was paid for the service—later there was a fee of three shillings a night. They were fined if they refused to act; the names of such men as Joseph Shippen, Abram Carpenter, George Claypool, and Henry Preston in 1706 appear as having been fined £5 each for neglecting to serve. It was the duty of the night watchmen to go through the town, ring a bell, call out the hour, and to state the weather. From 1700 to 1780 this method was practiced and it speaks well for the general good order that the city remained so long with so few guardians.

In 1749 the Grand Jury insisted on the fact that five or six men employed as night watchmen were a very poor protection for a city of 2000 to 3000 homes and with 15,000 people. In 1751 a law was passed for systematically policing and lighting the city, at public expense met by taxation. Thus began the first regularly salaried police, and it was at this time that watch boxes were placed throughout the town, not only as shelter for the watchmen but also lighting the streets, for every box had its lantern on top.

In each of the books referred to earlier (*The Philadelphia Police,* 1887, by H. O. Sprogle, and the *History of Philadelphia,* 1839, by D. Bowen), there is an illustration of the watch box and of the watchman.

In the first a lantern resembling our old street lamps with glass sides was on top of the hexagonal roof. The building otherwise much resembles our watch box. Beside the box stands the night watchman, in overcoat, cape, and hat, and in his left hand a torch with a square box close to his fist. This contains the oil, and from the end of it a blaze of flame spurts out; a badge buckled around his hat was the certificate for his author-

ity, while out of sight in a side pocket he carried his rattle. In the Bowen book, the box has a lantern with a round top or dome, which is the only feature that is different.

Within the watch box a narrow seat was fastened to the side, and around the walls were hooks for hanging cans of oil and wicks, and sometimes a place would be found for a small stove. Later, in the one hundred years that these boxes were used, they fixed to the door disks of iron or tin, on which were cut the Roman numerals running from IX to XII and from I to VII. The watchmen set the dial on each return from his beat, and the wayfarer by consulting them could tell approximately the hour of the night.

The watchman's cry was peculiar and musical, and was usually listened to with some interest by those awake because he not only told the hour but also the state of the weather. I remember how I would hear very early in the morning a woman's voice of tremendous power, shriek out with prolonged cadence "Cat-fish!!" The watchmen started from their stations hourly, carrying their torches, rattles and clubs, calling the hour thus: "Ten-o-clock-and-alls-well"; or "Oh!-tw-elve-o-clock-and-a-starlight-night"; or "Oh!-past-three-o-clock-and-a-stormy-morning." Sometimes they would call out an unusual event. Thus on the night of the news of the British surrender at Yorktown, a German watchman went his round and startled the wakeful population by crying the hour, adding "Und Cornwalish ist daken!"

If there should be any real trouble, they would spring their rattles, and it was exciting when the rattles in different directions repeated the call as they hurried to the point of the first alarm.

The watchmen became a mark for the young bloods and rowdies, and lamp-smashing occurred more or less frequently, so that the penalty rose from 40 shillings to £25. On one occasion at Front and Market a watchman returned to his box and, inadvertantly leaving his key in the lock, entered. But some young fellows who were lying in wait locked him in and then wound a rope around the watch box and rolled it down the street like a gigantic barrel. There are people now living whose fathers took part in such a frolic.

Our watch box is a historic possession and adds one more bit of interest to Old Philadelphia.

THE MEETING HOUSE AT BAD PYRMONT

By Hans Albrecht

THE HISTORY of the Meeting House at Bad Pyrmont is the history of Quakerism in Germany for the last 150 years—an end and a new beginning.

Ever since the time of George Fox there have been groups in Germany which, rightly or wrongly, were called Quakers. They were groups of inspired men who outwardly perhaps did not always manifest all the characteristics of the Quakers, but who nevertheless so resembled Quakers in their beliefs and in their spiritual and religious lives, both as a group and individually, that the Quakers who came to them felt them to be men of their spirit. These visiting Quakers saw in them the seed of God, which could and must be brought to fruition; they found in them the germ of the Children of Light. And it would seem that in many cases the Friends who came together in groups such as these, filled with their message, imbued the somewhat distraught life of the community with a strong purpose. The Friends brought the desired message, as George Fox had brought it to the Seekers. In Germany, in the first fifty years after the birth of Quakerism, all such groups were likely to be called "Quakers" without further ceremony, even those which evidenced radically differing tendencies. This was particularly true in the case of the rather widely spread Labadists. The origins of the groups are often obscure. Remnants of the Baptist movement and the beginnings of Pietism and Quietism play a part here. They were groups which objected in some respect or other to the established church, or which could find no satisfaction in it. And the word "Quaker" came generally to be used by their enemies as a term of contempt.[1] But nevertheless: "In the earlier German communities English Quakerism was taken over at first unassimilated, in its original strength; but its energy was metamorphosed with the dissolution of the groups into fruit-

[1] Wilhelm Hubben, *Die Quäker in der deutschen Vergangenheit* (The Quakers in the German Past), 1929, Quäker-Verlag, Bad Pyrmont, pp. 20-60.

ful leaven, which strengthened these groups, and indeed partly directed them." [2]

Hubben names as truly Quaker groups of this period, which had existed for quite a while and which had endured a great deal of persecution, those at Kriegsheim in the Palatinate, Emden, Hamburg, Danzig, and Friedrichstadt. Krefeld might perhaps also be added to this list. But here too differences in religion do not seem to be sharply drawn. At this time, however, direct organic connection with English Quakerism arose. These congregations had belonged originally to the Amsterdam Yearly Meeting, founded in 1677 by George Fox. Then in 1683 a Yearly Meeting was set up in Germany proper. All these congregations died out, however, by the middle of the eighteenth century at the latest.

But in Germany the search, and among English and American Friends the burning wish to bring to these German seekers the fundamental message, did not die out. Because of the cruel oppression by the state churches, however, it was not until the end of the nineteenth century that permanent groups could be established; and this took place in a territory which had peculiar characteristics. It was the territory on and south of the Weser River, about thirty to forty miles southwest of Hanover, which will perhaps serve to locate it for those unfamiliar with Germany, between Minden, Pyrmont, and Herford, in the former residence of Princess Elisabeth of the Palatinate, the friend of William Penn. This region was in strong religious ferment. Moreover, six different autonomous German principalities bordered on each other here, with six different rulers and six different churches; indeed, these principalities even overlapped one another. Laws and the interpretation of them changed at each boundary, and one could cross five boundaries on a thirty-mile trip. Religiously dissatisfied individuals could easily avoid persecution for their convictions by crossing the nearest frontier, where they could resume their fight under a new ruler and a new ecclesiastical government. That meant every time, to be sure, relinquishing a way of life. These inspired men came together at their meetings, which they were not allowed to hold in their

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

homes, usually in open fields and in the woods, just as the first Friends had done.[3]

In this district, in that part which belonged to Hesse-Nassau, lived many retired soldiers of the American Revolution, whom their electors had sold to America, and who had there received a great deal of kindness from the Quakers. That was the main reason why the American Friends George Dillwyn and Joshua Beale, together with Sarah Grubb of Ireland, sought out this particular region, as early as 1786 (according to Schmid). George Dillwyn knew most of the officers personally, and it has been asserted that the governor of Rinteln, General von Lassberg, was in spirit and sympathies a true Quaker.

Schmid informs us that these Friends "made a powerful impression on most dispositions." From Rinteln the Quakers turned to Pyrmont and Minden, and their influence succeeded in various places in giving solidarity to the pietistic groups and in uniting them into a conscious congregation. Very soon the groups in Minden and Pyrmont developed into a firm and enduring center, and at a later date were combined and set up in the usual way as a Monthly Meeting of London Yearly Meeting. In these two congregations lies the history of the second period of German Quakerism. The Minden Meeting was able to hold together fragments of its original form until about 1900. The Pyrmont Meeting, which thanks to particularly auspicious circumstances was originally the stronger, had already been dissolved in the 1860's; but it was able through its meeting house to bridge the gap to the third period of German Quakerism, which began after the World War, with the help of English and American Friends.

Pyrmont in the eighteenth and until the middle of the nineteenth century was an international watering place, somewhat like Wiesbaden and Baden-Baden today, visited by kings and many spiritual leaders. At that time Prince Friedrich von Waldeck und Pyrmont ruled in the little land, and although perhaps not because of truly tolerant nature, gave sanctuary to

[3] This and other information from F. C. E. Schmid, *Ursprung, Fortgang und Verfassung der Quäkergemeinde zu Pyrmont* (Origin, Development, and Constitution of the Quaker Community at Pyrmont), Brunswick 1805, publ. by Friedrich Vieweg.

those persecuted for religious reasons. His philosophy was that "religious fanaticism should be given as little attention as possible. A babbler left by his acquaintances to declaim his foolishness alone, will finally tire of playing the fool unnoticed." [4] A little circle of about twenty people, who sought consistently to follow the word of God as had the early Quakers, assembled in Pyrmont under the leadership of Ludwig Seebohm. It was this circle which Sarah Grubb and George Dillwyn found already established on their first visit.

The years until 1790 seem to have been for this group in Pyrmont as in other places a time of inner preparation, during which conflicts with the governmental authorities became more and more numerous. We can speak of a real Quaker community only from 1790 on, because it was only after this date that the members of the congregation became fully aware of their identification with the "Church of Light." The Prince's decree which guarantees them, expressly under the name "Quakers," freedom of religious activity, is dated January 1791. Their actual connection with London Yearly Meeting came however much later, apparently while some of the members, and perhaps not the most insignificant, had a strong concern against again joining an organized religious body after they had left the established church because of conscientious objection. Schüttmeier, the leader of this group, expressed this thus: "I left one church because of the great impurity to which all such churches have declined, and should not like to be cheated once again." [5] There were four members of the group who did not join London Yearly Meeting. There is a reference to the application for membership of the other members, and also to the first organic connection between Pyrmont and the English Friends, in a letter of Fanny Clark's, née Sturge, of the town of Street near Glastonbury in Somerset, dated December 18, 1794, to her sister-in-law Mary Sturge, née Marshall, in Elberton near Bristol, the mother of Joseph Sturge. James Edmund Clark, also of Street, kindly places this letter at my disposal. It runs, in part:

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[4] Hubben, p. 157; also Schmid.

[5] Hubben, p. 160.

"I lately received a letter from brother Thomas, who writes that some agreeable intelligence from Germany has been lately received (to the Meeting for Suffering) [6] accompanied by one from 12 men and 3 women (who form a little society at Pyrmont, a place particularly mentioned by S. Grubb) requesting to be considered as (members of our Society) [6] of the same faith, having kept up two meetings on first day's and one on 4th days for nearly or quite (three years) [6] ever since S.[arah] G.[rubb] and G.[eorge] D.[illwyn] was there. It seems a manifestation of the rectitude of those apprehensions repeatedly expressed in those valuable memoirs, that there was a hidden seed in those parts with whom their spirits were dipd into sympathy." That this decisive step was taken is probably due to the influence of John Pemberton, of Philadelphia, who died after long suffering on January 31, 1795, in Pyrmont, while on a missionary trip.

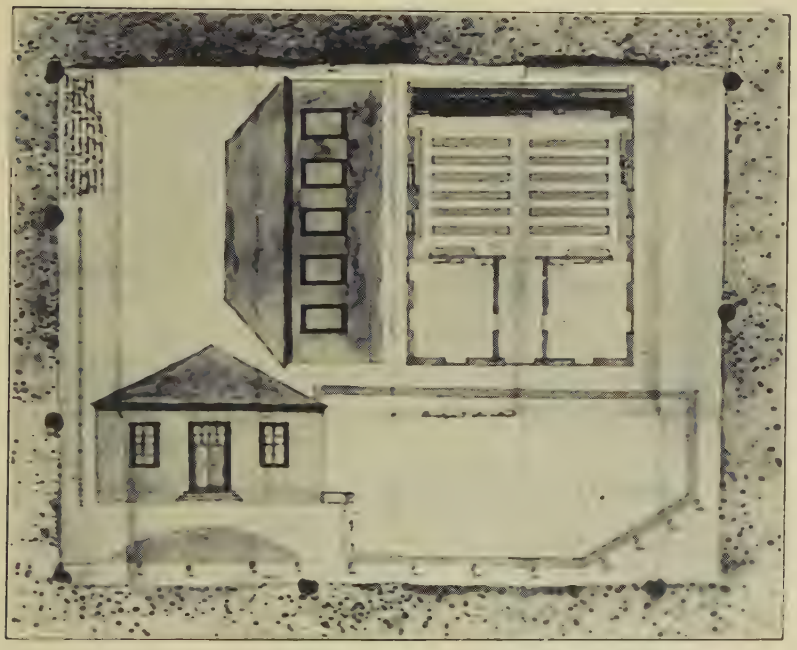
The conflict in the group was put aside by further visitors from England and America, but it broke out again later. The coöperative work with the group in Minden was also discontinued, because the latter had reason, probably justifiably, to be dissatisfied with the group at Pyrmont. Among the visitors we find up to 1800 the following names: from America, George Dillwyn, David Sands, William Savery, Benjamin Johnson, Sarah Harrison, and Mary Sweat; from England, William Farrer and George Stacey.

When the first persecuted individuals returned to Pyrmont, the Prince turned over to them for settlement a small piece of woodland about two miles away. There arose here a purely Quaker colony, Friedensthal, from which the Seebohm family has descended. Even today a few of the houses of this settlement are still standing, which shows a peculiar type of architecture, and it is today still said of one room, which now serves as a Catholic chapel and is built into another house, that it was both the schoolroom and the place of worship of the Friedensthal Friends. I have as yet been unable to find proof of this.

Ludwig Seebohm had set up very early a school in Friedensthal for the children of the group, which in 1798 was attended by about twenty-five children. Friedensthal soon became the center

[6] The words in these parentheses are in the original, but crossed out.

The Quakers' Linen Factory at Friedensthal, near Bad Pyrmont



An Early Plan of the Old Pyrmont Meeting House, dating from 1799. In the lower left is a front elevation, in the lower right, the plan of the burial ground beside it, the meeting house serving as wall along the short left end. The offset in the front wall for the gate is clearly shown in the picture facing page 68. Above is a plan of the meeting house, and a side elevation.

of a few small industrial activities, which were established in 1796 through the help of English and American Friends, in order to make possible (by the payment of three times the usual rate) a modest competence for the poorest members of the group. These hopes, however, did not materialize, because these industries could be maintained only by large subsidies. The industries in question were a knife factory, a printing press, and a linen manufactury. The house in which the last-mentioned was carried on is still standing. A committee in London was set up for all these activities, consisting of Thomas Sturge, Joseph Smith, Joseph Savory, Anthony Horne, and Luke Howard. Members of the committee for these industries in Philadelphia were John Elliott, Thomas Savery, Jacob Johnson, and Samuel Emlen, Jr. And so the young Quaker community in Pyrmont, the much-visited watering place, seemed to be destined for a secure future.

From this hope the thought arose of building here a roomy meeting house; this hope originated not with the German, but with the English Friends. The English Friends believed they had found here a firm support for the dissemination of Quakerism in Germany, and it is remarkable that this hope should at that time fail so completely of realization, only to find its consummation 135 years later, and under such radically different circumstances.

In a letter of May 6, 1799, Friedrich Seebohm, Heinrich Meier, and David Franks request from the "Administration of the Pyrmont School for Friends," i.e., from the above-mentioned Committee of Friends in London, the amount of £100 to build a room for the School, which was developing well, in a new structure, which Friedrich Seebohm wanted to erect in Friedensthal. On June 17, 1799, the London Committee answered surprisingly: "And in contemplating this object, and the means by which it could be best accomplished, our ideas became extended, and it appeared desirable to connect with it the Building of a Meetinghouse. Many Friends have generously contributed their assistance, and it is probable we shall have to offer to you, in aid of both purposes, as much as Five Hundred Pounds Sterling.

"But before this is done, it will be proper to convey more circumstancially our views, as well as to receive information

from you. The Committee for managing the Subscription accord in sentiment, that the Meeting-House should be built adjoining the Burial-Ground, or upon it. It is a spot sufficiently retired, and remote from the town, to be free from annoyance by rude and disorder[ly] persons; at the same time that its contiguity to the Public Walks will give it that degree of exposure to the company frequenting the Wells, as may attract their Attendance, and be the mean of acquainting them with our Mode of Worship; and perhaps of exciting to more serious and interesting inquiry. It will also furnish opportunity for the distribution of Books; not that we mean this should be done at the close of a Meeting, but at suitable intervals and with judicious discriminations."

The whole plan is then explained with great expert knowledge and with a fine understanding of the location, and the Committee gives directions, according to which the building was later actually constructed. The Committee asks further for plans for the house and for an estimate of the cost.

In his answer of September 15, 1799, Ludwig Seebohm explains that the Pyrmont Friends are of the opinion that the schoolroom had better be erected in Friedensthal, whereas the meeting house had better be built on a piece of ground adjoining the already existing cemetery. But more difficulties arose in securing the Prince's approbation of the purchase of the premises. ". . . The Meeting-House should be a simple building, by itself consisting in a large Meeting-Room 40 by 32 feet in the clear; and two Committee-Rooms, one for the Women and one for the Men, which may be so constructed, that an occasional enlargement of the Meeting-Room may be effected by taking down the upper part of the Walls which divide the Committee-Rooms from the Meeting-Room." It is further suggested that the cemetery be surrounded by a wall, which is partly standing today. And from the above letter it appears that Hannah Pemberton gave £40 for this purpose in memory of John Pemberton. The cost of the house was estimated at £350. The letter contains a drawing of the house, which has been preserved, thanks to the care of the Friends' Library in London.

On October 25, 1799, the Committee approved of building, and stated that the sum of £350 could be increased to £500 if it were absolutely necessary. And Ludwig Seebohm can state

The Old Quaker Meeting House at Bad Pyrmont, torn down in 1932, and rebuilt on the other side of the burial ground which adjoins it on the right.

The Quaker Burial Ground at Bad Pyrmont, where John Pemberton and Richard L. Cary lie buried. The big tree at the corner of the house in the upper picture, the wall, and the signpost show conspicuously here. The new meeting house adjoins this burial ground on the right.

on December 9, 1799, that all difficulties have been removed and that the Prince has given his permission. The price for the cemetery, to be sure, which had formerly only been rented, and for the building lot was at £33 very high. ". . . But in viewing the end for which it is to be used, we have not hesitated to agree to it, believing it is only by the invisible hand, that this point is so far attained, against the opposition of the Priesthood, who would glady hinder that Friends should not have a *public* Meeting House, and I don't doubt they will yet be busy to stir up what they can."

In the spring of 1800 the building was started, for which £500 were sent from London. It is remarkable that there is no detailed or official information about the completion of the building or its first use. Only from a postscript to a letter about the linen factory from Diedrich Seebohm, Heinrich Meyer, and Ludewig Heydorn, of October 14, 1800, do we discover the following: "You have probably already heard, or are about to hear from our friend Ludwig Seebohm, about the Friends' Meeting House, how far we have gotten with it. On Seventh Month Sixth-day meeting was held in it for the first time, which was so well attended that probably 1000 people were present. Every time after this too a great many came; particularly as long as the springs attracted visitors the Meetinghouse was occupied or full for most of the meetings." Friedrich Schmid informs us in 1805: "In summer this church is very well attended by the strangers here, so that frequently the building does not have room enough to accommodate everyone."

The house stood unchanged, as it had been built, until 1932, though it had served its real purpose for only half its life.

The undertaking had another unpleasant epilog, when it was discovered, though not until two years later, that the estimated cost had been exceeded by not less than £300. Except for a letter of strong remonstrances from London, which was answered by Pyrmont in all sincerity but with extraordinary adroitness, there is nothing more to be found in the records about this matter. Certain references suggest that this balance was paid by American Friends.

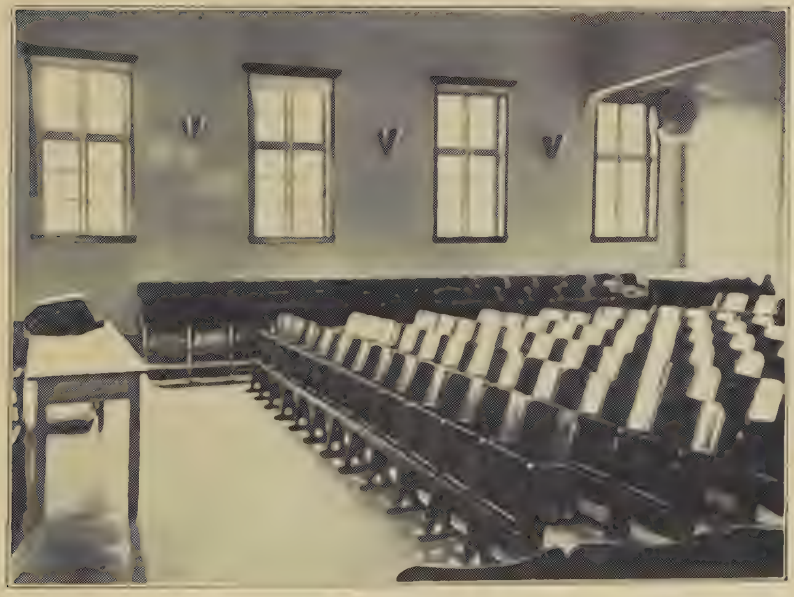
The house itself fulfilled its purpose for several decades, and saw within its walls all the great personages among the guests

of the health resort, both temporal and spiritual leaders. Goethe too, who stayed in Pyrmont in 1801, is among them. He writes concerning it: "We visited further the knife factory founded and operated by the Quakers, which is situated on the other side of Königsberg; and we found ourselves occasioned several times to attend their religious services, which is held very near to Pyrmont. Its rhetoric, which is said to be extemporaneous, could hardly, despite our eager anticipation, be called inspired on a first visit, much less on repeated attendance. It is sad that a pure cult of any sort, as soon as it becomes an established institution, can never avoid a certain hypocrisy."

Because of the continental blockade the connections with English and American Friends were as good as broken off, and at this painful time new difficulties arose with the Minden Friends. The first person again to visit both groups after the way to the Continent was reopened in 1814 was Stephen Grellet. He adjusted their difficulties and arranged for a bi-monthly meeting with Minden. It is said about him: "Nothing appeared to escape his eye or his feelings, respecting which it was needful that advice should be given; a proof that he had received a large measure of light of the Lord." New life blossoms in Minden as well as in Pyrmont and other places, such as Eidinghausen and Hille. There are said to have been in Pyrmont and Friedensthal, during this period of flourish, twenty-six families of Friends, and a few of the old names are still to be found there.

There is hardly one among the Friends known to have traveled the Continent in ministry at that time, who did not visit Pyrmont. Luke Howard writes in July 15, 1816: "We were at Meeting on 1st day in their large Meeting House where the members of our Society are lost (during the season) in a crowd of strangers whom curiosity for the most part attracts to the show of a Quaker's meeting. . . . Their behaviour was on the whole becoming—a little whispering and circulation of snuff-boxes in the time of silence—but no further levity or disturbance. There were persons of some condition, with military men and (we understand) Moravians among them." Among the visitors were William Allen, John Yeardley, Thomas Shillitoe, Elizabeth Robson, Elizabeth Fry, Martha Savory, Martha Tawell, Stephen Grellet (a second time), Ann Alexander, Hanna and Maria Middleton,

Pyrmont Meeting House
As Rebuilt in 1933



Pyrmont Meeting House
Inside View

Cornelius Hanbury, and others.[7] Elizabeth Gurney, Elizabeth Fry's niece who accompanied her aunt on her trips to the Continent, writes on March 31, 1840, from Pyrmont: "The meeting house is at the foot of one of the highest (hills) and a lovely view you have from the summit. The meeting house was filled this morning." [8]

The Pyrmont group began to decline, and by about 1870 it was about dead. Leadership and inspiration were lacking.

In the year 1893 the house and grounds were sold for £370/16/1. The cemetery however remained the property of London Yearly Meeting.

A kind fate has preserved the house. It has changed hands repeatedly, to be sure, and has served the most varied purposes, such as horse-market and sports club house; but it remained internally and externally unchanged.

When the Friends' reconstruction work and especially the feeding of children in Germany was undertaken by the American Friends after the World War, there arose spontaneously all over Germany a new Quaker movement, which was consummated in 1925 by the foundation of the German Yearly Meeting. Because of this the places of activity of the extinct earlier Quaker group aroused renewed interest. One of the first visitors to Pyrmont in the postwar period, in 1921, was probably Homer L. Morris, now in Philadelphia, together with Paul Helbeck from Elberfeld. At that time the house and premises could probably have been bought for a nominal sum. But the time was apparently not yet ripe.

In 1928 the German Yearly Meeting made an excursion from their place of assembly, Bückeburg, to the near-by Pyrmont. On this occasion Joan M. Fry of London and the author were able to ascertain that the house and lot could be rebought only at a very high price, if at all.

In the spring of 1932 Emma Raeydt, a Friend who lived in Pyrmont, heard accidentally that the house had been sold for wrecking purposes for 300 RM and was to be torn down. On the very same day she herself bought the house from the purchaser

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[7] Hubben, p. 166.

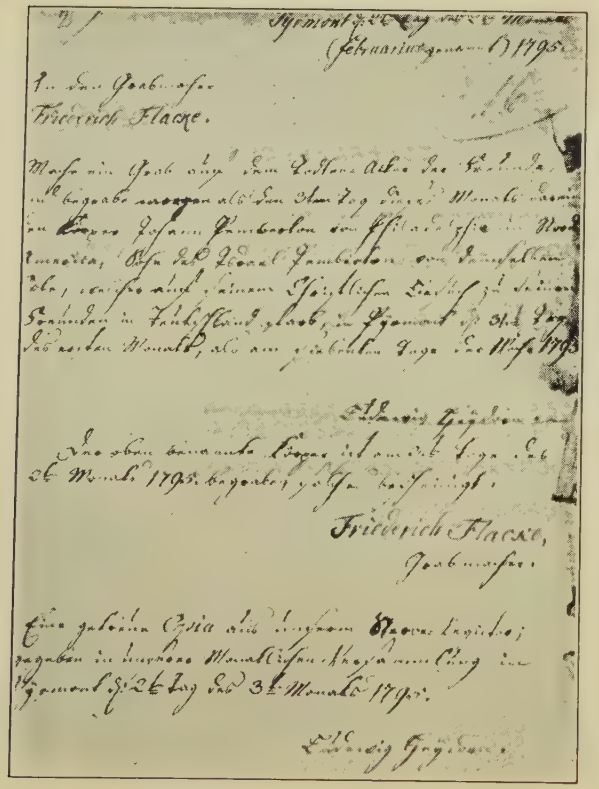
[8] *Elizabeth Fry's Journeys,* London, John Lane the Bodley Head Limited, p. 46.

and thus saved it from destruction. Now was the time to give to the German Yearly Meeting, which had demonstrated its ability to stay in existence by continuous growth, a new home and a center, and at the same time to renew the old Quaker tradition in Germany. Negotiations with the Prussian Government revealed its readiness to put at the disposal of the Quakers on a seventy-five-year copyhold for the reconstruction of the house a beautiful plot of ground immediately adjoining the cemetery, which was to be included in the town park; and soon the new building could be begun. At the Yearly Meeting of 1932, which met in Pyrmont, the celebration of the erection of the roof could be held;[9] and in the summer of 1933 the German Friends could hold their first Yearly Meeting in the house, even though it was not entirely finished.

The house stands only about 100 feet from its former location. It is, aside from the necessary renewals and replacement of materials, the same as the old house. As a result of the most scrupulous preservation the same stones, wood, windows, etc., have been used. The old house, built 135 years ago, is resurrected in the new. The dimensions and the interior divisions have remained exactly the same. Thus the old meeting room could be retained in its former peace and beauty. This room has 223 fixed seats; at the Yearly Meeting of 1935 it was filled for the first time to capacity. Approximately 300 people can be accommodated. The basement of the new house contains a large dining room, a kitchen, two rooms which for the time being are used as offices of the *Quäker-Verlag* (Quaker Press), and the usual lavatories. Behind the house is a semicircular yard. From the yard in front of the house steps lead directly down to the cemetery, which forms a unified whole with the site of the house.

The cost of the building naturally far exceeded the financial capacities of the small German Yearly Meeting with its 200 members, of whom more than one third were unemployed. And yet the building was carried through each stage of its construction without debt, and it is still free of debt. The first help for the building was £200, which still remained in London from the

[9] When the framework of the roof is completed, German custom demands a "Richtfeier," a feast which the builder holds in honor of the workmen.



TRANSCRIPTION OF TEXT

Pyrmont d: 2tn Tag des 2tn Monats/(Februarius gennant) 1795.

An den Grabmacher/Friederich Flacke.
Mache ein Grab auf dem Todten-Acker der Freunde,/und begrabe morgen als den 3ten Tag dieses Monats darein/den Körper Johann Pemberton von Philadelphia in Nord-/America, Sohn des Israel Pemberton, von demselben/Orte, welcher auf seinem Christlichen Besuch zu seinen/Freunden in Teutschland starb, in Pyrmont d: 31.tn Tag/des ersten Monats, als am siebenten Tage der Woche 1795.

Ludewig Geydorn

Der oben benannte Körper ist an 3.tn Tage/des 2tn Monats 1795. begraben solches bescheinigt.

Friederich Flacke,/Grabmacher.

Eine getreue Copia aus unsrem Sterbe-Register;/gegeben in unserer Monatlichen Versammlung in/Pyrmont d: 2tn Tag des 3tn Monats 1795.

Ludewig Geydorn

TRANSLATION

Pyrmont, the 2d day of the 2d Month (called February) 1795.

To the Gravedigger Friederich Flacke.
Make a grave in the burial ground of the Friends, and bury therein tomorrow, the 3d day of this month, the body of John Pemberton of Philadelphia, North America, son of Israel Pemberton, of the same place, who died on his Christian visit to his friends in Germany, in Pyrmont, the 31st day of the First Month, on the seventh day of the week, 1795.

Ludewig Geydorn

The above-named body was buried on the 3d day of the 2d Month 1795. This is certified by

Friederich Flacke, Gravedigger.

A true copy of our Register of Deaths; given in our Monthly Meeting in Pyrmont the 2d day of the 3d Month 1795

Ludewig Geydorn

Certificate of Death and Burial of John Pemberton of Philadelphia, who died in Pyrmont January 31, 1795

money from the sale in the year 1893. It was at once placed by the English Friends at the disposal of the German Yearly Meeting. Soon contributions to the building came from Friends the whole world over; but entirely unexpected contributions came from Germany, from individuals and groups who had not forgotten the child feeding after the War—tokens of gratitude. Thus this meeting house did not remain an affair of the German Friends alone, but the house has become a symbol of the unity of the Religious Society of Friends over the entire world. It has become a monument to the friendship for Germany which had found expression in the child feeding and the reconstruction work after the War. May it ever remain a symbol of peace.

The house is finished except for the rooms on the top floor for the use of Young Friends. The total cost including appurtenances has amounted so far to 43,340.42 RM. Of this amount English Friends supplied from eighty-five to ninety per cent. The maintenance of the house and the defrayal of taxes, which together amount to about 1500 RM a year, is incumbent on the German Friends. This means a burden of 6 RM per year for every member, whether man or woman, whether with or without means of substinence. But we in Germany know that the house will be a center for the development of Quakerism in central Europe.

In the quiet cemetery lie the earthly remains of two American Friends: of John Pemberton, deceased 1795,[10] exhausted by his work for the Kingdom of the Lord; and of Richard L. Cary, deceased 1933,[11] exhausted by his efforts to establish and to maintain this Kingdom, despite all opposition, throughout the confusion of the present day. Only as we laid him to rest in the shadow of our house did we really take house and cemetery into our possession. Thus from the past came the present and its mission.

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[10] Since the burial place of John Pemberton is no longer known, German Friends have erected on the cemetery wall a tablet to his memory.

[11] To the memory of Richard L. Cary his friends in America have established a fund, the interest of which is to be used in supporting an annual lecture, to be delivered during the session of the Yearly Meeting and then to be published, called the "Richard L. Cary Lecture." The first lecture was delivered in 1936 by the writer of this article.—Ed.

RUSSIAN QUAKERISM

By Wilhelm Hubben

RUSSIA'S church history in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is a strange design of minor and mostly uncorrelated dissenting movements which remind us in their impetus and apostolic zeal of similar English and continental phenomena. The number of dissenters in 1917 was estimated at 25,000,000, though the official figures are considerably lower. This highest and final figure is the outcome of a growth over two or three centuries. The vast empire was much more under the cultural influence of various European nations than is commonly supposed. The Germans were numerically the strongest foreign element and, to take only one illustration of their literary activities, it was the Lutheran pastor Gregori of the German church in Moscow who gave the first real stimulus to Russian drama. But it seems that English influences, particularly in literature, commerce, and industry, were more revolutionary in awakening the slumbering forces of the Russian soul than any others. In fact, Russia has had severe and long-lasting attacks of Anglomania.

From the earliest days, Friends have maintained an alert interest in Russia. Until 1914 there was a continuous pilgrimage to Russia and, at times, long-lasting residence of Friends in Russia to be recorded. To take the names only of a few prominent Friends: William Allen, Nathaniel Rickman, Stephen Grellet, Thomas Shillitoe, John Bellows, and several others have visited Russia and had contacts with groups of Doukhobors, Molokani, and Mennonites as well as with individuals, and several of them were received by high dignitaries and even the Czar. But none of them report about Russian Quakers or express the hope of finding any. No group of Friends ever emerged from such contacts as had created the nucleus of a continental group in several other countries. Russia is the classical country of sectarianism, and has always been in the past (and is still so at present) most reserved, at times hostile, to any foreign influences. The German settlers in Moscow amounted to a thousand families at the time of Peter the Great,

and they had three Lutheran and two Calvinistic churches; but they were isolated from the rest of the city and they preserved their strange national characteristics which made them a centre of irresistible attraction to the young and eccentric Czar Peter. The numerous English and Dutch merchants, engineers, and shipbuilders were looked upon with a mixture of admiration and suspicion—the latter being strongest on the part of the clergy. And up to our modern times, foreign influences served rather as a stimulus than as a new element that could be absorbed and integrated into their national culture and temper, a tradition which perhaps never has been so persistently pursued as by the Soviets.

A number of Russian sects have certain mostly negative characteristics resembling Quakerism, and it is these traits that made a group of orthodox ecclesiastical authors like Archbishop Philaret, Sokolov, Re-utski, Rudakov, and Novitski [1] label such groups as Russian Quakers, a term that has been applied to them also by English and American authors. They are the "spiritual Christians" (Dukhovnie Khristiane). The Molokani, who supposedly have a long-maintained tradition that their spiritual ancestors were Quakers, have no sacraments and no ikons or relics, and they are nonviolent. The Righthand Brotherhood (or Zion's Tidings) do not have any church buildings; the Stundists believe in the Inner Light, as do the Skoptzi; there were the Sighers, who dispense with both priests and prayer, and, last but not least, of course, the Doukhobors. But every one of these sects has numerous basic views and practices which characterize them as alien to the purely spiritual type of religion for which Friends stand, beginning with the application of various new sacraments down to an absurd and masochistic flagellantism and a fantastic theology. It is only too natural that in their history numerous incidents should repeat themselves which in a similar fashion are part of Friends' records. These groups did not resist any of the violent attempts of the Russian government to centralize the church, so that in this respect Conybeare [2] compares

[1] Vaak. V. Gur'ev, *Russian Maidens who Suffered as Quakers,* London 1919 (translated by Edward Bernstein), introduction.

[2] F. C. Conybeare, *Russian Dissenters,* Cambridge (Mass.) 1921, pp. 104, 171, 315, 356.

them to the Quakers, as also in regard to their soberness and readiness to rescue each other. But the fact stands that the national color of their psychology dominated and obliterated every one of these traits, so that there remains very little indeed that could be called Quaker. One cannot help being reminded of parallels from German pietism in its early beginnings: numerous individuals and groups of dissenters between 1670 and 1720 were called Quakers by the German Lutherans. Quakerism was in both countries a handy label to be applied to a wide range of dissenters, to psychopathic and eccentric individuals as well as to mystical groups and healthy movements like pietism. It is a strange and significant coincidence to see in Russian "Quakerism" the same Lutheran forces at work, when in 1689 at Moscow a German pseudo-Quaker and his friend were tortured and burned at the stake.

II

QUIRIN KUHLMAN (1651-1689) was one of those hyperagile wanderers and seekers of which his age was so prolific. From his school time to his death he was a nonconformist and a sympathizer with the Labadists, the Chiliasts, the Philadelphians, and the Quakers. He went to England, Holland, France, Italy, and Switzerland, and finally to Russia, where the Bohemians at Moscow welcomed him. He was the author of *Bohmen redivivus,* the *Kuhlpsalter,* and the *Geschichtsheroldes.*

Strangely enough, it was one of his own compatriots, the Lutheran pastor Meinecke of the German colony there, who denounced him with the patriarch of Moscow (Moscow had two German Calvinist and three German Lutheran churches). The Lutherans in Germany had developed a sort of a Quaker complex. Although practically none of the German anti-Quakeriana were printed before 1700, it is certain that Quakerism was widely discussed before that date, and it is likely that Meinecke, desirous of maintaining good relations with the suspicious Russian church authorities, utilized any kind of information from Germany against Kuhlmann, whose membership in the Society is most doubtful and who has been a posthumus object of psychiatric research in recent years. He and his friend Nordermann,

likewise executed at Moscow, were called Quakers by non-clerical observers,[3] and reference is made to Holland and England, where there "is a multitude" of them.[4]

III

THIS EPISODE occurred when Peter the Great (1672-1725) was seventeen years old, and his eccentric and restless mind must have absorbed the news with the weird and curious cruelty that characterized his whole life. While he was still a child he listened to the fanciful dreams of V. V. Golitsyn, a favorite of the regent Sophia, about a reunification of the Christian church and a liberty of which England presented a model example. Although literary influences from abroad were not yet strong (between 1550 and 1700 only 134 books had been translated into Russian), the foreign cultural impact upon such an active mind as Peter's must have been decisive. He was quite at home in the German quarters of Moscow and in addition he seemed to be predestined to be attracted by England and English culture. His mother was the daughter of a Scotch soldier serving in the Russian army, whom Aleksei, Peter's father, had married. A Scotchman, Paul Menezius, was, according to some authorities, Peter's teacher, and another Scotchman, the general Patrick Gordon, influenced him greatly in his formative years. It is however to be noted that Peter went to England primarily as an explorer. The city of London, the navy, democracy, parliamentarianism, English commerce and industry—these were what he went to see. Perhaps it was a genuine interest in the most democratic form of service existing in any church that made Peter attend the silent meeting; perhaps the mere coincidence of living in John Evelyn's home,[5] formerly inhabited by William Penn, had made him curious. We can very well imagine Penn in the atmosphere of men of science and letters who felt attracted to John Evelyn's home; but Peter indulged in ravages which appalled the servants. He slept in the library and ate in the drawing room at the most impossible hours of the day or night,

[3] Gur'ev, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
[4] Gur'ev, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
[5] G. Oudard, *Peter the Great*, translated by F. M. Atkinson, New York 1929, p. 163.—K. Waliszewski, *Peter the Great*, New York 1898, p. 129.—T. B. Macaulay, *History of England*, chapter 23.

and the property was seriously damaged by him and his entourage. Yet it was of historical moment when he objected to the doctrines of the Friends in the matter of nonviolence. In this point he expressed himself even more politely than Prince William of Orange (Holland), who granted liberty to all creeds but excluded the Quakers "because they considered cowardice as the first article of their creed." Peter's answer to Gilbert Mollison and Thomas Story, "Of what use can you be in a kingdom or government, seeing you will not bear arms or fight?" [6] was the reaction of a man of this world who however had understanding enough to admit that "Whoever lived according to this faith would be happy."

Nevertheless, his visits to the Friends' meeting were an interesting although only transitory experience. There were other churches and services attracting him just as much. Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, laid before him a new scheme of church union; in Vienna, he looked into the Catholic church and had contacts even with the Jesuits whom he hated and feared and whom, following a common prejudice of his time, he associated with the Quakers—but all this is not even mentioned in his diary.[7] His life in Holland as well as in England was far from being ascetic; and upon his return to Russia he took with him a company of sixty English gunners, artisans, doctors, etc.—but no church advisers. During his whole reign he successfully delegated promising young people to England for studies; they brought home an ever renewed interest in English affairs, but we have no reports on a spiritual ambassadorship among these protegés. These foreign experiences of Peter have been dealt with by his countless biographers of all nations and by novelists and composers, most ably by Leo Tolstoy in his fragmentary *Peter the Great.* The first part of this book, dealing with the youth of Peter, was first published by the Soviets in 1935; but it does not mention the Friends and, according to personal information, received by his daughter Alexandra Tolstoy, the great novelist did not have any material on this point.

Penn's biographer Janney probably characterizes this episode best by stating that, had Peter ever joined Friends, he would

[6] J. Kendall, *The Life of Thomas Story,* 1805, p. 84 ff.

[7] M. Shcherbatov, editor, *Journal de Pierre le Grand,* Berlin, 1773.

have been disowned several times afterwards. There is no evidence to support such a sweeping statement as that of the otherwise so brilliant and visionary author Bruno Bauer, that the "Friends considered him already to be one of their own." [8] The Friends had a most agreeable contact with Peter in 1712 when he was at Friedrichstadt, Germany. There the meeting house remained free from occupation by the Russian troops who were on their way to Sweden. Peter listened to the messages of the Friends and even expressed the desire of having Barclay's *Apology* and his *Catechism* translated into Russian. Philip Defair spoke in one of the meetings (probably in Dutch which Peter understood), and the Czar translated the message for his entourage.

His life and thoughts took a different course. Yet, when we read about the seriousness and dignity with which he attended the Quaker meetings we like to forget those terrifying and eccentric traits in his character that have determined his picture for all ages. The simplicity and silence of the meetings may have touched upon a longing and dreamlike element in his soul that never, before nor afterwards, was properly nourished.

IV

ENGLISH influences kept on forming the general pattern of Russian civilization. When Voltaire's *Lettres philosophiques* came out, containing the famous letters about the English and the *Lettres sur les Quakers,* there was scarcely a more popular book among the Russian intelligentsia than this one. It was in this period, namely in the first half of the eighteenth century, that the name of the Quakers appears again in imperial decrees and in the acts of the church administration. The specific incident which gave rise to a new wave of interest in Quakerism was this:

In Tomsk there existed in 1712 a female monastery, which had only thirty-three nuns left, all of whom were very old. The building was in very poor order; in 1764 it was practically a ruin; two years later a wooden church building was erected in place of it and later on a stone church. In the written records

[8] Bruno Bauer, *Einfluss des englischen Quäkerthums auf die deutsche Cultur und auf das englisch-russische Project einer Weltkirche,* Berlin 1878, p. 11.

both of the monastery and the church appear references to "exiled Quaker maidens." The memory of these "Quakeresses" was vivid for a long time and tales about them were passed on in the versions of both the Orthodox and the Raskolniki (Dissenters), the former considering these so-called Quakers as crafty and intriguing old hypocrites, although highly respected; the latter praising them as model examples of Christian virtue, nursing the sick, doing charitable works, etc., etc. Their lives were held up as shining examples to a degenerate and corrupt clergy. A ukase of the metropolitan of Tobolsk and Siberia incarcerated these women for life, and directed that they be "at once desecrated" [9]—that is, deprived of their ordinances as nuns. This was done and the Tomsk Ecclesiastical Office reports that the "exiled degraded maidens of the quaker heresy . . . are in a right state of life. . . ." [10] In 1783 a report states that only two of the Quakers are still living; on account of their old age they were not to be considered prisoners any more, but they were required to stay in Siberia. Fifty years earlier, in 1733, at Moscow, six persons were considered to be Quakers, and in 1735 the first prisoners were sent to Siberia. They were later pardoned and allowed to return to Moscow, but in 1745 another twenty-two Quakers were sent to Tomsk into exile. The monasteries of Ivanovsky, Novodyevichy, Voznosensky, and several others, harbored the leaders, among whom were several priests, including the abbess Nastasia, executed in Moscow in 1733. When the new antiforeign and especially anti-German wave grew stronger after 1740, the recollection of Kuhlmann and Nordermann probably suggested the name of "Quakers" for these heretics who "used to turn about, whirl round, and quake . . . as if inspired from above." [11] No Quaker literature was found however. Gur'ev, to whom we owe the first publication of the documentary material, comes to the conclusion that all these so-called Quakers were Khlysti and had no associations with Friends at all. This opinion is confirmed by the fact that they had a strange and elaborate theology and a rich ritual, and that they used to take sacraments quite similar to the Orthodox. Certain remote

[9] Gur'ev, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
[10] Gur'ev, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
[11] Gur'ev, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

similarities (belief in inspiration and an individualistic expression of their piety) have probably led to the confusion with the Quakers. Two more competent investigators, one of whom (Theofan Prokovich) was even under the suspicion of being sympathetic with Protestantism, did not find any similarity to Quakerism, but called the sectarians simply "impious and sacrilegeous." According to the text of the ukase of 1756 as many as 416 persons of both sexes had fallen into the heresy, and another 167 teachers and members of the group were known to the authorities but could not be found.

According to Andreyevsky's Encyclopedia the Khlysti originated in the middle of the seventeenth century, but various elements of their teachings are to be found in ancient and Eastern religions. Andreyevsky believes in inner relations of the Khlysti to Western mysticism, to the jumpers, flagellants, brothers and sisters of the free spirit, and Quakers. Their adherence to old and invention of new rituals and their strict belief in celibacy make any relation to Quakerism quite hypothetical. It remains, nevertheless, an interesting problem why the "desecrated Quaker maidens" and other so-called "Quakers" in Moscow received their name and such an attention. Was it a misinterpretation and superficial conception of Quakerism as a merely rebelling group of dissenters that created the excitement? Did it grow out of a popularized kind of information on England and English churches? Or was it a mere reaction to the German custom of naming any somewhat conspicuous dissenter a Quaker (Kuhlmann)? Probably all these factors worked together.

V

TOLSTOY'S interest in and his associations with the Friends are closely related to his relief activities for the Doukhobors. But apart from these activities Tolstoy has always felt a close kinship with the Quakers in religious matters. In the opening chapters of his *Kingdom Within* he refers to the Friends, and in several passages of his other philosophical writings he adopts their ideas almost literally. It was John Bellows who came closest to him. Bellows states in one of his letters:[12] "There are

[12] John Bellows, *Letters and Memoir,* London 1904, p. 233.

some things in which we see eye to eye; and others that I know to a certainty he is mistaken in, and which I would give much to open his eyes too." From the correspondence with Tolstoy and from personal visits it seems to be clear that the difference of their whole background and temperament would never allow a deeper agreement in religious matters. Bellows came from an old nonconformist family and disciplined his mind highly at a surprisingly early age. Tolstoy never overcame the conflict in himself between the evangelistic preacher and the artist of vision. There is a slightly disharmonious note in the last years of their friendship when Bellows expressed his criticism of certain passages in the novel *Resurrection,* the honorarium for which Tolstoy gave to the Doukhobors. Tolstoy's reply to the accusation of immoral tendencies in the novel was polite but unyielding; he limits his defence to his good intentions but does not escape into theories on art which he would have done while writing *War and Peace* or *Anna Karenina.*

Tolstoy's wife describes how he gave up writing on Peter the Great's life.[13] He considered Peter's reforms as superficial and the Czar himself as highly immoral. Perhaps he also felt repelled by the rôle of Peter Tolstoy, one of his ancestors who was knighted by the emperor and who had also visited the continent. His discreditable services to the Czar are part of one of the darkest pages of Russian history: Peter Tolstoy assisted in bringing about the assassination of Peter the Great's son Alexis.

Tolstoy's genius never turned towards any phase of historical Quakerism; he was exclusively interested in its ideas, from which he derived inspiration for his singular testimony on nonviolence.

Alexander Herzen, the pre-Marxian Russian revolutionist, tells in his *Memoirs* how he became interested in mysticism and what he calls religious socialism. In 1838 he wrote two dramas in verse depicting the struggle "of the official church with the Quakers and the departure of William Penn to the new world, to America." [14] His friend the literary critic Belinski discouraged him in his unsuccessful poetical attempts and Herzen soon dropped creative writing.

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[13] Aylmer Maude, *The Life of Tolstoy,* London 1930, vol. i, p. 340.
[14] Alexander Herzen, *Erinnerungen,* Basel 1931, vol. i, p. 191.

INDEED, a strange and unexplored bit of Quaker history! Friends have sought contacts on the continent wherever they felt a readiness to receive the light—a readiness which has scarcely ever been stronger than from 1670 to 1750. There is no other small Christian group with such a catholic urge in its early missionary work, or with the impressive calmness and inner security that distinguish these traveling ministers.

The later experiences of Daniel Wheeler and John Bellows, not to mention the episodes described above, and the absurd theology of the Doukhobors, make us realize that Asia begins on the western side of the Ural Mountains.

MORE OF BENEZET'S LIBRARY

By Henry J. Cadbury

IN THE Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association, vol. 23 (1934), pp. 63-75, was published a list of the books bequeathed to Friends Library, Philadelphia, by Anthony Benezet, who died in 1784.[1] Of over 180 volumes given, more than fifty were at that time designated as being now assembled in the Haverford College Library. Since then over twenty more of his books have been identified either at Haverford or in the libraries of the other Quaker colleges (Swarthmore, Earlham, Guilford) to which the Philadelphia Library was distributed. These titles are now copied again or added from the original list, with some additional information.[2]

QUARTO

25. Holy Bible.[3] [The Bible here listed is perhaps the Bible owned by his wife (Joyce Benezet), and by her mother and her grand-

[1] The books came to the Library, some before and some after the catalog was printed (see *loc. cit.*, p. 64). Others of Benezet's books were given, we are told, to the school for Blacks where he himself had taught. See "Willing's Alley School" in the *Friend*, 17 (1844), p. 179.

[2] The original classes and numbers are kept. Designating marks are:
* Volume now extant
† Item written or published by Anthony Benezet
E Charles Evans, *American Bibliography*
Bibliographical information not contained in the catalog printed shortly after Benezet's death in 1784 is added in square brackets. The additional titles given in brackets under Nos. 94 and 126 are bound with the titles listed, as may be ascertained by consulting the extant volumes.

[3] Omitted by mistake in the previous list.

father (Dr. Griffith Owen), which is now at Haverford College. It is important because it contains family data including the birth and death of Anthony Benezet's two children]

OCTAVO

61. Guion Lady, the life of written by herself, 2 vols. [As previously stated a MS note in a very early official copy of the catalog says, "Burnt at a fire." Another copy with Anthony Benezet's autograph came to the Friends Library but did not receive the special bookplate. This work was translated by the Irish Friend, James Gough, and printed at Bristol in 1772]

At Haverford

*94. A Letter to Doctor Formy. [Written probably by a Friend, James Beezley, and published at London in 1766]

At Swarthmore

*94. A Letter to Doctor Formey [another copy bound with other items. London, 1766]
[A Collection of Some Writings of the . . Quakers. Compiled by M. M. Phila., 1767. E. 10583]
[Some Remarks on Religion (by Herman Husbands). Phila., 1761. E. 8885]
[The Sufficiency of the Spirit's Teaching, by Samuel How. 7th Ed. Wilmington, 1763. E. 9410]
[Reasons and objections for and against the Priviledges Granted to . . the United Brethren. London, 1750]
[Reasons for erecting an additional number of schools (by William Dover). London, 1752]
[Considerations touching the likeliest means to remove hirelings. By John Milton. Reprinted in the year 1743]
[Extracts of Several Treatises wrote by the Prince of Conti and Others concerning Stage Plays. Phila., 1754. E. 7175]

At Haverford

*126. Ranters and other Libertines (the Anarchy of) by Robert Barclay. [Phila. 1757. E. 7840]
[The Epistle to the National Meeting of Friends by J. Pike. Phila. 1757. E. 8008]

At Earlham

166. Woolman John (the Works of in Two Parts). 3 setts.[3]
*180. Two discourses and a Prayer. [by Samuel Fothergill]
Sundry do . . . do
Character of S. Fothergill
An Epistle to Friends in Tortola
The Trial of Spirits [by William Dell, Phila. 1760. E. . .]
† A Short Account of the Quakers [Phila., 1780. E. 16711]
An Epistle of Advice [1761. To the Quarterly Meeting for London and Middlesex. n.p., n.d.]
Ditto to the Inhabitants of S. Carolina [by Sophia Hume, London, 1754]
An Alphabetical Extract of the subjects of Epistles [by John Fry, London, n.d.]
Ditto of Advices

At Swarthmore

[3] Omitted by mistake in the previous list.

DUODECIMO

*73. Pugh Ellis (a Salutation to the Britons, by). [London, 1739]
At Guilford

*90. Turford Hugh, the Ground of an holy Life by. 3 setts.[3] [Phila. 1772. Tenth Edit. E. 12586]
At Earlham (one copy)

*93. † Tracts, a Collection of religious.[4]

At Swarthmore: see BULLETIN 23:72 for duplicate set at Haverford

**********102. Wesley John, his Works 12 Vols. [Beside the one volume listed before there are now at Haverford ten volumes containing one or more of the sections of the Journal of Wesley as separately printed at Bristol or London at various dates between 1738 and 1774]

*110. Memoirs of John Roberts. [Title page wanting]
Extracts from the Journal of E. Harper [London, 1769]
† The Death of Abel [by S. Gessner, Phila., 1770. E. 11667]
† Caution & Warning to G. Britain & the Cols. [Phila., 1776. E. 10240]
An Address &c on Slavekeeping [by B. Rush. Phila., 1773. E. 12990]
† Observations on enslaving & purchasing Negroes &c [Germantown, 1760. E. 8542] —Penitens
† An Account of the Quakers:—A Benezett [Phila., 1780. E. 16711 or 12]
Some account of Isaac Shoemaker [n.p., n.d. E. 16528]
† A short Account of Africa [Phila., 1762. E. 9067]
At Earlham

*118. History of Joseph; a Poem } [by Eliz. Rowe. Phila., 1767.
The Hermit:—Essays on Creation } E. 10760]
† Extract of a Letter from the Earl of Essex—Sundry Other Extracts
Universal Prayer [n.p., n.d. E. 13832]
† The Death of Abel [Phila., 1770. E. 11667] —S. Crisp's Epistle [Phila., 1780. E. 16754]
Two Letters:—Sam Crisp [Phila., n.d. E. 9098]
The Last Day;—A Poem—E. Young [12th Edit. Paisley, 1774]
At Earlham

*120. † Historical Account of Guinea
† Extract from a Piece on Slavery
† Extract from an Address
† Extract of a Sermon
} [Phila., 1771. E. 11985]
At Earlham

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[3] Omitted by mistake in the previous list.

[4] See BULLETIN 23:72 for duplicate set at Haverford. In several cases two copies of the same book came to Friends Library from Benezet's and are noted in the list. Still other duplicates went elsewhere. Thus of John Everard's *Gospel Treasures,* Germantown, 1757, beside the two copies now at Haverford (BULLETIN 23:65), two others marked with Benezet's signature and annotated by him are known to me by references, one in the *Catalogue of Printed Books in the British Museum* (under Everard) and the other as offered at auction in 1903 in Philadelphia by Davis and Harvey, *Catalogue of the Proud Papers,* etc., no. 657. There are of course extant also some of the presentation copies of books which he generously distributed, often with notes or an inscription in his own hand.

DOCUMENTS

THERE IS printed herewith a very interesting letter sent by Cornplanter, Chief of the Seneca tribe of Indians, to the Philadelphia Quakers in 1791. The letter has been published before;[1] but the Association owns the original letter of Cornplanter, though not the answer, and a photographic reproduction of the document is given herewith. It is interesting that even in that day the Indians wanted their children to be taught to love peace, and that they sent them from their territory in the western part of the State of New York into the Quaker atmosphere of Philadelphia to learn this lesson.

Letter of Chief Cornplanter to the Children of the Friends of Onas

TO THE children of the Friends of Onas who first settled in Pennsylvania. The request of the Cornplanter a chief of the Seneca Nation.

Brothers,

The Seneca Nation see, that the Great-spirit intends that they shall not continue to live by hunting, and they look round on every side, and enquire who it is that shall teach them what is best for them to do. Your Fathers have dealt fairly and honestly with our Fathers, and they have charged us to remember it, and we think it right to tell you, that we wish our children to be taught the same principles by which your fathers were guided in their councils.

Brothers,

We have too little wisdom among us: We cannot teach our children what we perceive their situation requires them to know, and we therefore ask you to instruct some of them. We wish them to be instructed to read and to write, and such other things as you teach your own children; and especially, to teach them to love peace.

Brothers,

We desire of you to take under your care two Seneca boys and teach them as your own; and, in order that they may be satisfied to remain with you and be easy in their minds, that you will take with them the son of our Interpreter and teach him also according to his desire.

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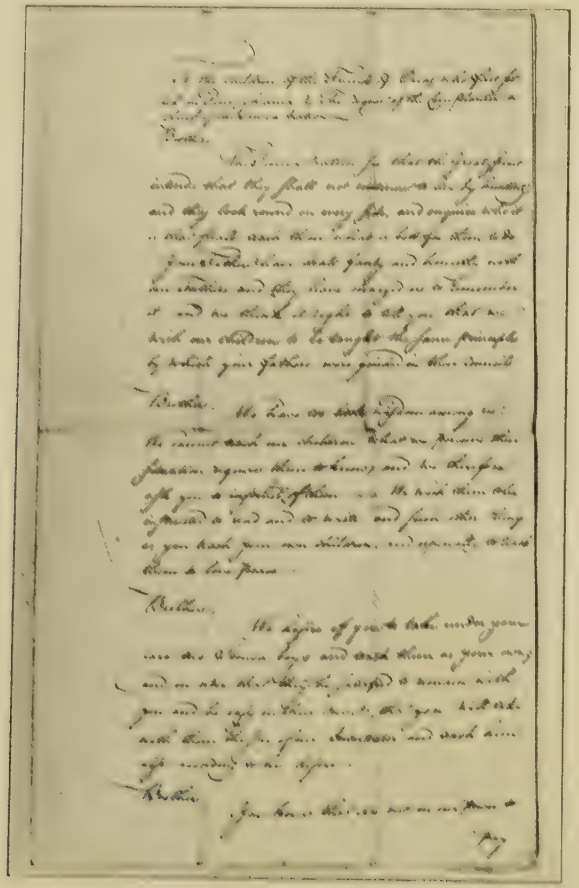
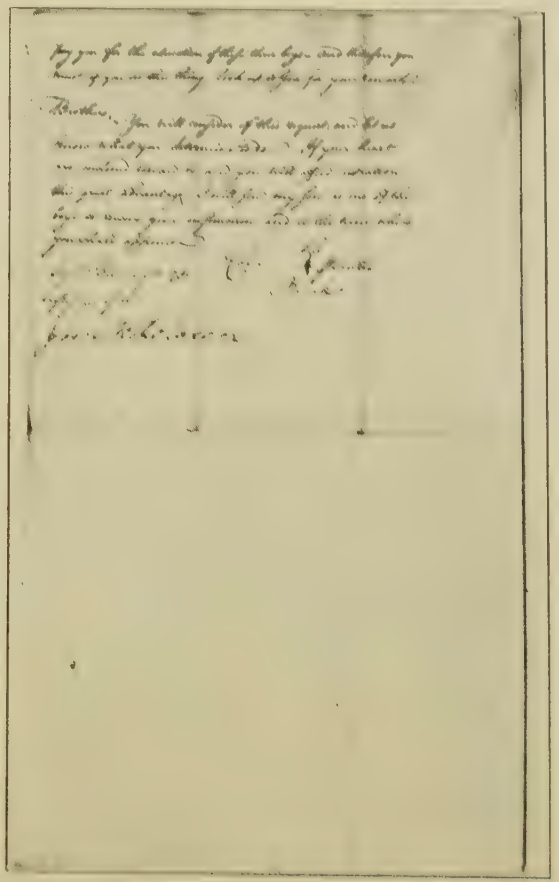
[1] In *Some account of the conduct of the Religious Society of Friends towards the Indian tribes in the Colonies of East and West Jersey and Pennsylvania* . . . , published by the Aborigines Committee of the Meeting for Sufferings (London), London 1844, pp. 98-99. Rayner W. Kelsey, in his *Friends and the Indians 1655-1917*, Philadelphia 1917, p. 93, Note 8, refers to this letter, and to the MS records of the Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings, 3: 159, 161-163, 193.





Reproduction of the Cornplanter Letter

Brothers,

You know that it is not in our power to pay you for the education of these three boys—and therefore you must, if you do this thing, look up to God for you reward.

Brothers,

You will consider of this request, and let us know what you determine to do. If your hearts are enclined toward us, and you will afford our nation this great advantage, I will send my son as one of the boys to receive your instruction, and at the time which you shall appoint.

His
CORN X PLANTER
Mark

Signed February 10, 1791
in presence of us
Jos. Nicholason

The Answer of the Quakers

FROM THE people called Quakers, the Children and Descendants of those peaceable people who first settled in Pennsylvania, being the Friends of Onas.

To Corn-planter the Seneca-Cheif, or to Joseph Nicholson the Interpreter to be by him explain'd to the said Cheif.

The written message of Corn-planter dated at Philad^{a}. on the 10th day of February last, was not received by us untill some weeks after. His request that we would take under our care two Seneca Boys, one of them his own son, accompanied with the son of Joseph Nicholson, we have considered, and do agree to receive them when they can be conveniently sent to us, intending they shall be treated with care and kindness, and instructed in reading, writing and Husbandry as the Children of our Friends are taught. The Governor of Pennsylvania, when inform'd of this proposal, having express'd his approbation thereof, as did General Knox.

Sign'd on behalf and by appointment of a Meeting of the Repress. of the said people the 2^{d} day of the 6 mo. called June 1791.

Sign'd

Isaac Zane
Owen Jones
John Pemberton
John Parrish
Henry Drinker
Nichos. Waln

One copy sent by John Adlum 2^{d} 6 mo. 1791
One other sent by Major Hodgson 4th 6 mo. 1791 inclosed to Jos. Nicholson at Pittsburgh.

BOOK REVIEWS

Joseph Wright Taylor: Founder of Bryn Mawr College, by Margaret Taylor MacIntosh. Haverford, Pennsylvania, Charles Shoemaker Taylor, 1936. xvii+211 pp.; illustrated. $1.75.

IN DESIRING that the college which he established for the advanced education of women should bear the name of the community in which it was located rather than that of its founder, Joseph Wright Taylor denied himself some of the honor which has come to the names of his two Quaker contemporaries, Ezra Cornell and Johns Hopkins. But Bryn Mawr College is no less a worthy memorial to the contribution of Quakerism to higher education in the United States than are the great universities in Ithaca and Baltimore.

In this life of Dr. Taylor (1810-1880), drawn largely from the letters and diaries which his great-niece, Margaret Taylor MacIntosh, has recently presented to Haverford College, one can follow the interesting story of his activities in the field of education. Service on the Board of Managers of Haverford College brought him into intimate contact with others who were affected by the growing concern for higher education in the Society of Friends. And out of this association grew his purpose to establish a college which would educate young women in the way in which Haverford was educating young men. Death interrupted him as he was preparing the buildings and the grounds for the new college. But, as Rufus M. Jones, present Chairman of the Trustees of Bryn Mawr College, writes in an illuminating introduction to this volume, Dr. Taylor would doubtless have approved the successful development which the College experienced under the administration of Friends such as Francis T. King and James E. Rhoads, whom he chose to administer the trust.

Ten of the twelve chapters in the book are devoted to Dr. Taylor's ancestry, his education, and his life as a physician in New Jersey, as a business associate of his brother Abraham in Cincinnati, Ohio, and, after 1851, as a "country squire" near Burlington, New Jersey. Some of the most interesting chapters are those concerning his trips to Europe in 1849 and 1861, and the accounts of his travels in this country as companion to visiting English ministers such as J. Bevan Braithwaite and John Hodgkin.

The book as a whole is essentially a source book for the history of nineteenth-century Quakerism, a readable one, interesting in the picture it gives of a group and a generation of cultivated, enlightened, and sincerely religious Friends.

THOMAS E. DRAKE.

PENDLE HILL has arranged for a reprint from the *Journal of Negro History,* vol. 21, no. 2 (April, 1936), pp. 151-213, of an article by Henry J. Cadbury entitled *Negro Membership in the Society of Friends.* A footnote explains that the article covers only the American continent, and

hence omits reference to the large Quaker membership of Negroes in Jamaica; and that living Negro Quakers are not referred to by name. The study grew out of a series of lectures by the author at Pendle Hill on the general subject of the development of Quaker social testimonies.

The article holds up the early interest of Friends in the religious welfare of the Negroes, and the very slow growth of the idea that Negroes might not only attend Quaker meetings (where they were often segregated in a gallery or on the rear seats), but might be received into membership. Many recorded cases of Negroes who were members are cited, and other cases in which Negroes were denied membership. It is pointed out that Philadelphia Yearly Meeting laid down the principle that "our Discipline, already established, relative to receiving persons into membership is not limited with respect to Nation or Colour" in 1796; and in this year the first printed Discipline was issued, containing the statement: ". . . Meetings are at liberty to receive such [convinced persons] into membership, without respect to nation or colour." A similar regulation was retained in the successive revisions of the Discipline for a century and a quarter; but in 1925 and 1927 the two Philadelphia Yearly Meetings acting independently issued extensively revised editions of their Disciplines and in each this phrase disappeared—more by accident, the author thinks, than by intentional reversal of policy.

In various places Friends were concerned to hold separate meetings for Negroes; and in Philadelphia, about 1787, there was a movement which almost gave rise to the formation of an independent Negro Society of Friends. The fact is referred to that in North Carolina several hundred slaves were owned by the Yearly Meeting. This interesting situation arose because in the southern states manumission was legally extremely difficult; and persons who wished to free their slaves simply conveyed them to trustees appointed by the Yearly Meeting, who treated them in all respects as free persons while retaining legal title to them as protection against their being seized by other slaveholders. Ultimately such of these slaves as were willing to go were moved to northern territory.

A part of the paper is made up of a very interesting list of cases of Negro membership, which the author says is necessarily incomplete, but which is compiled because the cases themselves are interesting and because they may stimulate others to the recording of cases that may otherwise be forgotten. In this compilation are brief biographical sketches of Caesar Sankey and Sarah Sharp of Dover, New Hampshire; Bobbie Peters, who came from Dinwiddie County, Virginia, to Ohio in 1811; Sarah Antone of New Bedford, Massachusetts; Bernice Grandison of Lynn, Massachusetts; Hannah Conn of Haddonfield, New Jersey; Emily Rodman Williams of Philadelphia, who died in 1910; David and Grace Mapps, a couple of some substance of Little Egg Harbor Meeting, in New Jersey; Cyrus Bustill of Burlington, New Jersey, and Philadelphia, his wife Elizabeth Morey, and their children Ruth, Rachel, Grace, and David, and their grandchildren Robert Douglass, Jr., and Sarah Mapps

Douglass; William Boen (or Bowen) of Rancocas, New Jersey, who was convinced of Quakerism by John Woolman; Paul Cuffe, a sea captain, of Westport, Massachusetts; Richard Cooper, born in Barbados, a member of Little Creek Preparative Meeting in Delaware; Miles Lassiter of Randolph County, North Carolina; James Alford of Philadelphia; Robert Purvis of Philadelphia.

There is further brief mention of the Negro Quaker community established at Helena, Arkansas, from 1866 to about 1890. In this group Daniel Drew, Morris Brown, Arthur L. Crump, Calvin M. Kerr, Chandler Paschall, Duncan Freeland, and others, were recorded as ministers. Other Negro ministers were Noah C. and Cora E. McLean of Ohio Yearly Meeting, William Allen of Indiana.

The article is abundantly documented with references to minutes, journals, and other original sources; and represents a scholarly and valuable contribution to the literature on Negro and Quaker history in this country. Copies can be bought from the Friends' Book Store, 304 Arch Street, Philadelphia, or from Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pennsylvania, for 25 cents. It may be noted that the article was recently awarded a prize as the best contribution to Negro history during the current year.

Henry J. Cadbury would be glad to hear of cases of Negro membership which have escaped his attention. He may be addressed at 7 Buckingham Place, Cambridge, Mass.

T. K. B.

The Trail of Life in the Middle Years. By Rufus M. Jones. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1934. vi + 250 pp. $2.00.

IT'S A RATHER tidy honor to occupy a place on the book shelf between the sprightly "Memorials of Rebecca Jones" and the slim little "Journal of Richard Jordan," but there, in right ordering, can now be found Rufus Jones's *The Trail of Life in the Middle Years.* To be sure, his bright blue cover hardly comports with Becky Jones's somber black, or with the durable calf in which Richard Jordan defies time and innovation. But therein lies just the difference. This is a modern Friend's autobiography. Its tone and method are as different from the *Memorial,* the *Journal,* or the *Narrative* of the ancients, as the bright blue is from the black cloth or the drab calf bindings.

In memoirs of old, the misspent youths of the staid journalists usually occupied about two pages, and were then passed over with relief, to get at the solid portion of the "Life."

Rufus Jones has been wiser. Years ago (1902) he gave us that exquisite story of his boyhood, *A Boy's Religion from Memory,* recently (1931) rewritten as *"Finding the Trail of Life."* Just before it came *The Trail of Life in College* (1929) and in 1934, the subject of this review.

Whether or not he ever gives us the fourth volume, for which we wait, his wiser choice has already shown us the importance of the early years.

How vastly richer would that marvelous and unique collection of Quaker memoirs and journals be, in their range of religious experience over three hundred years, if youth and adolescence had been recorded faithfully, instead of having been sloughed off with grudging mention,—of which the less said, the better.

In these *Middle Years* are the ripe experiences and the realization of the gift of leadership (modestly enough appreciated) that came to a great teacher, philosopher, and preacher. Those years also coincided with a great awakening in the Society of Friends. Though this book does not say so, the two chief instruments in that awakening were Isaac Sharpless and Rufus Jones. Their students in Haverford College, a generation ago, deeply realize, in weighing as history, the implications of that Quaker awakening that both men (p. 13) were "ready for them and, at least in spirit, matched with the call of the hour."

The most pleasing feature of this book is its certainty without a dogmatic attitude (p. 160: "No battles of the spirit are ever won 'for good and all'"), and the realization (p. 32) that "Quakerism in its essential meaning was a movement and not a narrow sect." And especially is this text gratifying in its exposition (again very modestly) of the peculiar service which Rufus Jones has rendered to American Quakerism (and English, too, for that matter) in healing the four-way breaches in the Society of Friends. His interpretation of mystical devotion as an inherent element in the Quakerism of history and, at times, of practice, is the rich solvent of our isms. His formula, into which he breathes life, is "the attainment of personal conviction by an individual that the human spirit and the divine Spirit have met, have found each other, and are in mutual and reciprocal correspondence, as spirit with Spirit" (p. 193). This experience for the inward or the subjective, is in turn mediated to others (the objective), "through guidance of a sensitive organ of social service" (p. 203). These words express a formula, upon which during the present generation, a basis of belief and practice has been built, sublimating, in a mightier concept and experience, the difficulties and bickerings that other religious groups have undergone in the Fundamentalist-Modernist controversies.

Perhaps it would not be over-critical to note one element that seems to be lacking in the *Middle Years*. There is practically no intimation of those difficult experiences or heart-searching readjustments that are the inevitable lot of any individual between the ages of thirty and fifty. The urbanity which runs through this account somewhat over-simplifies the situation. Nobody knows better than Rufus Jones how "unacceptable" he was to certain powerful Quaker groups in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, in his early days in this vicinity. That fact must have cost him deep searchings of soul, and subjected him to humility of spirit that sweetened him under the chastening. Even his marvelous sense of humor must have quailed before it at times when the easiest course would have carried him away from Philadelphia. It is these harder decisions that we miss in

this story. We want them, not for the disclosure of the unloveliness of some parts of the Yearly Meeting at the turn of the century, but in order to relieve the course of a narrative that seems too limpid, too invariably triumphant. One defect in history generally lies in the fact that as we read it, we know the answer. But it is not so in real life. Rufus Jones hints at this in those passages about the battle front where the event was still obscure, but his own trouble of soul is slighted, perhaps in his desire to be uncritical of Quaker tendencies in a time of great narrowness.

And so, I shall replace Rufus Jones in his *Middle Years* back upon the shelf, and in the darkness, after the household is asleep, he will have sweet converse with Rebecca Jones and Richard Jordan, or even, perhaps, with their next neighbors on either hand, Alexander Jaffray and Thomas Kite.

Friends all; and valiant Friends they were, regardless of their times and the garb they wore, and valiant also is he, who, after his *Middle Years,* settles down upon the shelf beside them, with the rich compensations of old age still to be told.

FRANCIS R. TAYLOR.

Cheltenham, Pa.
Sixth Month, 1936.

Elizabeth Fry, Quaker Heroine. By Janet Whitney. Illustrated. Boston, Little, Brown, and Co., 1936. xii + 337 pp. $3.50.

JANET WHITNEY'S new story of Elizabeth Fry's life differs from the conventional biography of a Quaker worthy about in the way in which Elizabeth Fry's real life differed from that of her conventional Quaker contemporaries. And in both cases we may be thankful for the difference. I do not mean to speak disparagingly of Quaker biographies, nor of Elizabeth Fry's contemporaries; but there is something so obviously out of the ordinary, so refreshingly direct and simple, so charmingly natural in both book and life, that one can praise them without hurting their fellows.

Mrs. Whitney's book is altogether admirable. It is based on full knowledge of abundant source material of the most intimate and personal kind; and it is fascinatingly told. From the spicy opening scene of the seven apple-cheeked, saucy-eyed Gurney sisters who spread themselves across the road and stopped the mail coach, to the simple and moving narrative of Elizabeth Fry's death, the narrative portrays a vividly living person. As a Quaker one is glad to have such an able and artistic presentation of so great a Quaker subject.

The title is "Elizabeth Fry, Quaker Heroine"; and it is interesting to note the kind of heroine that is portrayed. There are in the book two other Quakers who were fired with a certain religious genius, the American William Savery and the Frenchman Stephen Grellet. These also rank with the heroes; but Elizabeth Fry's claim rests on different grounds.

All three were filled with a spirit of love and tenderness for their fellows. The American Friends might be called inspired prophets who achieved genius because they were not too heavenly for practical affairs; Elizabeth Fry was a person whose extraordinary gift for practical affairs was raised to the point of genius through her love and tenderness for her fellow men, and her understanding of their earthly needs.

Parents who wish their children were more sensitive to their Quaker heritage (there are, alas, many such) will rejoice at this book: it is fascinating enough to capture the attention, and significant enough to command respect. Adults who read it will feel the same interest and respect, and may be challenged into further study into the social problems which lie in the background. For many of the social maladjustments whose consequences Elizabeth Fry faced with such practical charity persist, into our generation, and challenge our own potential Elizabeth Frys for solution. T. K. B.

NOTES

HARVARD COLLEGE Library has recently acquired a small collection of manuscript material embracing copies of letters to antislavery leaders and contributions to antislavery journals made principally during the years 1853, 1854, and 1857 by Henry Miles of Monkton, Vermont. Miles was a member of the Society of Friends, born in England; he knew Lewis Tappan and later settled in Vermont. He was very active in local antislavery circles, and the letters and articles refer largely to the "free labor produce" movement. Among the papers is a draft of antislavery resolutions of the Ferrisburg (Vermont) Quarterly Meeting of Friends intended to be presented to the New York Yearly Meeting.

T. Franklin Currier.

NOTICE of the celebration during Tenth Month of the sesquicentennial of the founding of Lynchburg, Virginia, by John Lynch, a Quaker, is given in the *Friends Intelligencer,* Tenth Month 31, 1936.

A REPORT of the planting of two seedling oaks in the meeting-house grounds at Fourth and Arch on Tenth Month 14th appeared in *The Friend* (Phila.), Tenth Month 22, 1936. Friends and others interested in the rehabilitation of old Philadelphia were present as a seedling from the Jordan oaks and one from the famous Salem oak, both known to William Penn, were set out to beautify Penn's city on the Delaware.

ON NINTH Month 6, 1936, there was celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of the Lincoln, Virginia, Friends Meeting House, according to the report in *The American Friend* (Tenth Month 1, 1936). The Lincoln Meeting, affiliated with Baltimore Yearly Meeting (Orthodox), is an interesting example of the effects of the evangelistic revival

of the eighteen-eighties in bringing new life to certain sections of American Quakerism. The Loudon County Goose Creek Meeting of antebellum days was laid down about the time of the Civil War, but it reappeared as the Lincoln Meeting, twenty years later, under the impetus of the wave of evangelism which was then sweeping the country.

THE THREE hundredth anniversary of the birth of George Whitehead was appropriately commemorated by English Friends and members of the Anglican church on Ninth Month 5, 1936. After meeting for lunch at Orton, Westmorland, the company journeyed to the near-by hamlet of Sunbiggin, where once stood the house in which Whitehead was born. An account of this pilgrimage, as well as a brief resumé of the several addresses given on this anniversary occasion, may be found in *The Friend* (London), Ninth Month 11, 1936, p. 843.

ANNA B. HEWITT.

THE THIRD number of the Ohio Historical Collections, published under the direction of Harlow Lindley, a Friend and Secretary of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, has recently appeared. It is Randolph C. Downs, *Frontier Ohio, 1788-1803* (Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio, 1935, pp. 280; $2.50). It treats the period of early settlement of the Old Northwest, carrying through the governorships of Arthur St. Clair and Winthrop Sargent and the formation of a state out of the territory. On pp. 97-99 is a brief discussion of the migration of Friends from western Pennsylvania and Virginia into Belmont, Jefferson and Warren counties, from 1799-1803. The books ends before the Quakers had had time to become numerous enough to have much influence in Ohio, but it is interesting in showing the milieu into which the first "western Friends" went forth.

TWO interesting articles on Quaker architecture appear in *The Friend* (Philadelphia), of Ninth Month 24, 1936. Walter F. Price, designer of the new meeting houses in Washington, at Westtown, and in Montclair, New Jersey, discusses "Old Meeting-houses," English and American, including the Warwick meeting house built in 1696, the beautiful Abbey Kitchen at Glastonbury, a medieval structure once used by seventeenth-century Friends, and the interesting first meeting house in Burlington, New Jersey. Pictures of the Abbey Kitchen and the Burlington meeting house which, in its hexagonal plan, may have been modeled on the old Abbey Kitchen, were printed in the BULLETIN, vol. 21 (1932), no. 1, at the time they were presented by Walter Price to the Friends' Historical Association. Walter Price's own modern designs have followed the traditional lines of early Pennsylvania meeting houses, several examples of which he praises for their beauty and their usefulness. The problem of architecture's function in worship is more definitely presented in D. Elton

Trueblood's article on "Quaker Architecture," a penetrating discussion of the useful and distractive elements in Quaker meeting houses of past and present generations.

THE *AMERICAN FRIEND* of June 11, 1936, summarizes an article on Laura Smith Haviland (1808-1898), Quaker antislavery worker and "conductor" on the underground railroad. The original article was written from Adrian, Michigan, where Laura Haviland lived, and it appeared in the Detroit *Free Press,* May 17, 1936.

THOMAS E. DRAKE.

ETHEL C. HEDGES in "Colonial Travelers on Long Island" (*Proceedings of New York State Historical Association,* xxxi (1933), pp. 152-162), cites, if my count is right, twenty-five visitors from 1638 to 1773, of whom thirteen were Quaker ministers.

AS FURNISHING background and contrast to the Quaker position, there is interest in "The Puritan View of War," by Arthur H. Buffinton, in the *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts,* xxviii (1935), pp. 67-86. Professor Buffinton is a Friend and a member of Friends' Historical Association.

"THE ESTATE of Jonathan Dickinson (1663-1722)," in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of Biography and History,* vol. 59 (1935), pp. 420 ff., printed by Harrold E. Gillingham from papers drawn up for the executors, and lately presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, gives graphic details of the household effects of a wealthy Quaker merchant of Philadelphia and Jamaica in the early eighteenth century.

THE "Minutes of the North Carolina Manumission Society, 1816-1854," edited by H. M. Wagstaff and published in *The James Sprunt Historical Studies* (vol. 22, 1934) by the University of North Carolina Press, are of interest not only because of the light they shed on antislavery movements in the South but because of the large share Friends had in guiding the Society, though with the distinct object of uniting friends of Negro manumission apart from denominational boundaries. Prominent Quaker names appear throughout the proceedings, including correspondents outside the state, like Elihu Embree and Thomas Shipley. The original minute book is at the Guilford College Library. A few other papers once the propetry of the late Mary Mendenhall Hobbs are also included. A larger number of her papers are announced for later publication. At her death they were given to the Southern Collection of Historical Materials at the University of North Carolina. With this new publication may be mentioned a little-known thesis of P. M. Sherill, "The Quaker and the North Carolina Manumission Society," published in vol. 10 of the Trinity College *Historical Papers,* Durham, 1914.

HENRY J. CADBURY.

THE NEW *Historical Review of Berks County,* published quarterly by the Historical Society of Berks County at Reading, Pennsylvania, has an interesting article in vol. i no. 2 (January, 1936), pp. 34-40, entitled "The Society of Friends and their Meeting Houses in Berks County," by John E. Eshleman. The article is illustrated with photographs of the meeting house which stood at Queen and Thomas Streets in Reading until 1868, and of the Robeson and the Exeter Township meeting houses, still standing; and with a portrait of Samuel and Ann Powell Griscom, former members of Exeter Monthly Meeting. The same issue contains (pp. 40-50) a large reproduction of a map drawn in 1749, covering Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and New England, as conceived by the German cartographer T. C. Lotter.

THE CHESTER COUNTY Historical Society is engaged in an effort to provide itself with an appropriate permanent home in West Chester. In connection with this larger effort, funds are being solicited for the establishment of a Founders' Room, which shall be so furnished as to constitute a suitable memorial to the Founders. Five of the original forty are still alive: J. Carroll Hayes, Samuel I. Kreemer, George K. McCormick, James Monaghan, and Dr. William T. Sharpless. The others of that group in whose honor the special room is to be set apart are:

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S. Emlen Sharples
William P. Sharpless
Mary I. Stille
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OUR fellow member William I. Hull, of Swarthmore, has been appointed Curator of Friends Historical Library at Swarthmore College, succeeding J. Russell Hayes. Thomas E. Drake has been appointed Editor of Quakeriana Notes, published at Haverford College. Members of the Association may congratulate themselves that both of these trained scholars and historians have consented to serve on the Publication Committee of the BULLETIN.

T. K. B.

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Please report mistakes in this list to Anna B. Hewitt, Secretary of Friends' Historical Association, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

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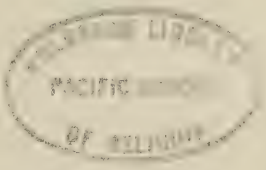

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